

MATERIAL CULTURE

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325 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met.
 412 This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

• [171] Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

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531 [171] The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

[326] 411 The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

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386 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azla*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azla*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as follows:

386 brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.

red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.

yellow, made from pomegranate husks.

green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.

black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thiafarath*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven. At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

• [71] **Masculine Attire.** *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood. The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusively a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

[17] *er serham*, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znaassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Masusa, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

• [71] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

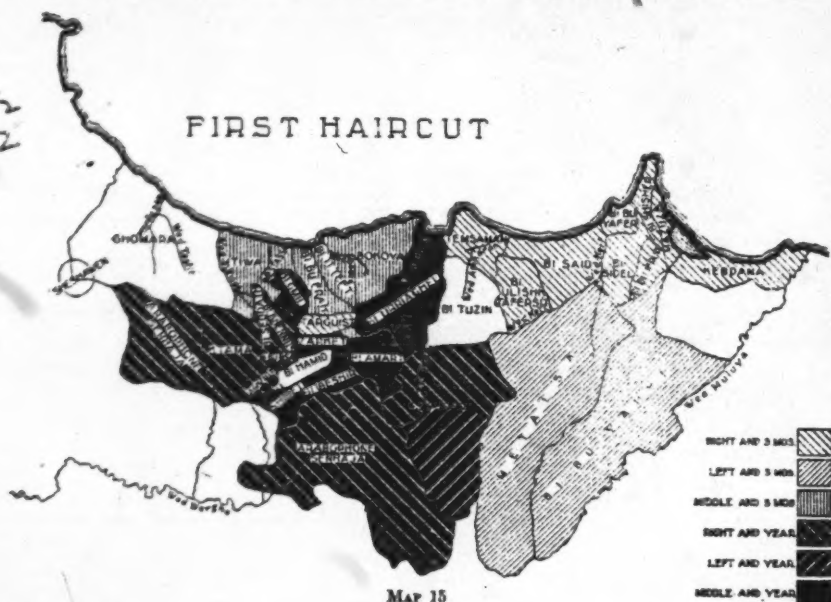
626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

302 Tribes which shave the head: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

302 In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist

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FIRST HAIRCUT



MAP 15

302 and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

302 By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fex and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

171 The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.¹ A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

¹ O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 123-127.

764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

[804] Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hoamar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghsuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Rifians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghsuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artificially shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

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● 171 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabised section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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There are no students and no food is served in the house of the deceased afterwards, as is the case in the central Rif. According to the second method the grave is not measured by the navel, straddle, span, knee, and rope, but by rope alone. The first hole is estimated and the second is measured with a rope to fit the corpse. No compunction is felt at making the hole too large or small. The stones put at head and feet are round and the same for men and women. The body is not set down en route, since it is carried on a rug, hence there is no occasion for planting stones along the way. Under this system there is no prayer at the grave.

A third usage is that of the Beni Bu Yahyi, who carry their dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey, and bury it in a shallow hole with the surrounding dirt scraped over it into a mound. No stones are used, probably because stones are very rare in that country. The central Riffian type is found in Beni Bu Ifrur; Beni Sidel; Beni Said; that portion of Beni Uliakh lying near Tamsaman; all of Beni Tusin except the village of el Azib of Meidhar; Beni Urriaghel; Tamsaman; Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Al Fars, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Ihershliyen, Temjunt, Bured, Inhanahan, Beni Yunes, and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya; Beni Amart; and all the Senhaja and Ghomara.

The second type is found in Kibdana; Masusa, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer; Metalsa; that part of Beni Uliakh near Dar Driuah; el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tusin; Tafersit; Shawia, Imadurar, and Khebaba of Gzennaya; Beni Mesduy; Targuist; Bokoya; Beni Itteft; Beni Bu Frah; Mestama; and Mtiwa.

The type in which the corpse is carried on a mule is practiced among the Riffians only by the Beni Bu Yahyi; the nearby Arabs of the Ulad Bu Rima, however, use that method.

Although all the factors connected with death and burial which have been described seem to fit together as opposing complexes without overlapping, there is one other trait which has a different distribution. All of the men in the house must sleep in the house for seven days after the death. Any stranger who is in the house at the actual time of the death must sleep there with them. During the seven days, members of neighboring houses which are well disposed towards that of the deceased must visit the house to express their condolences to the family.

The women express their grief by weeping and sometimes by scratching their faces and disarranging their hair, but do not put on any costume which marks them as widows. Among the Beni Amart the widows frequently entertain visitors with long recitations of the virtues of their husbands.

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CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

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174 We have seen in studying the culture of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara that there are three types of factors involved: those located in the center of the Rif and apparently basic there; those held in common with the other peoples of Morocco and representing the modern North African civilization, and those neither basically Rifian nor a part of the usual North African culture. In all parts of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, the prevailing stages of culture, both material and social, are about equally advanced, with certain notable exceptions, as at Taghsuth, where industries are well developed, and in the regions of the Garet and of Ktama and the Western Arabophone Senhaja, where rigorous extremes of environment have stunted the development of certain kinds of material culture. One cannot divide the region into zones of high or low culture; one may merely distinguish between the kinds of culture in different places.

I have chosen twenty-eight features of material culture and thirty-three of social culture which I believe to be nuclear or central Rifian. By this I mean that they represent the most fundamental pattern in the area, and show less evidence of introduction from outside in any but remotely ancient times than features which may replace them in other tribes, or which may exist on the margins without parallels in the center. The lists of these features follow:

CENTRAL RIFFIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

(Twenty-Eight Traits)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Roasted grains | 15. Cribwork |
| 2. Bake-oven | 16. Stools |
| 3. Absence of skillet | 17. Hand-made pottery |
| 4. <i>Kodid</i> and <i>thamarik</i> (dried meats and purées) | 18. Rifian design on pottery |
| 5. Sausages | 19. Wickerwork |
| 6. <i>Sammel</i> (grape jelly) | 20. Absence of horizontal loom |
| 7. Tar | 21. Buskins |
| 8. Porch | 22. Clogs |
| 9. Projecting <i>araf</i> (loft over the cow-pit) | 23. Stilts |
| 10. Absence of second story | 24. Retention of median occipital lock |
| 11. Sloping roof | 25. Shaving of face |
| 12. Shingles | 26. Tattooing, type 2 |
| 13. Possession of <i>amizimoth</i> (cave-sheathing) | 27. Absence of kohl as regards groom |
| 14. <i>Amizimoth</i> made of wood | 28. Total absence of kohl |

CENTRAL RIFFIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

(Thirty-Three Traits)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Tabu against the Shameless Ones | 6. Freedom from shorfa |
| 2. Political office tabu | 7. Sex restriction forty days after birth |
| 3. Two or three councillors in market | 8. Naming on seventh day |
| 4. Council of the great | 9. First haircut at one year of age |
| 5. Village council | 10. Circumcision early |

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DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

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|---|--|
| 21. Itinerant preceptor performing circumcision | 23. Difference in treatment of divorcee |
| 22. Local preceptor performing circumcision | 24. Ring type of dancing |
| 23. Wedding feast seven days | 25. Funeral hospitality |
| 24. Hospitality all days of wedding feast | 26. Definite time for burial |
| 25. One or two <i>insires</i> | 27. Whole village attends funeral |
| 26. Many <i>insires</i> | 28. Corpse carried on <i>dor</i> |
| 27. Wedding in September | 29. Bearers changed frequently |
| 28. <i>Zemmer</i> -playing at Wedding | 30. Grave measured with finger-span |
| 29. <i>Sabbein er-rast</i> | 31. Flat stones, differentiated, as markers |
| 30. Cutting of reed | 32. Stones placed where corpse set down on way |
| 31. Stick headdress | 33. No one in house at time of death may leave for seven days after burial |
| 32. Brother mounts behind bride | |

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Under material culture, I have purposely omitted agriculture and the care of domestic animals because these complexes seem so dependent upon environment for their distribution that to include them would unduly weight the classification. Other traits included admittedly depend upon environment, but to a lesser degree and in a less direct way. House types, for example, which I have called central Riffian are today found in more complete form in the Senhaja Sghir than in the Rif. The environment which permits the construction of these forms includes an abundance of coniferous timber which formerly grew in the Rif but which today is found in large quantity only in the Senhaja Sghir.

Deforestation has prevented the perpetuation of the more difficult features of this house-type complex in the Rif, but the essentials still remain, although poorly executed. In other ways the Senhaja, living in an environment which formerly typified the central Rif, have been able to preserve the Riffian material culture as far as the continuation of an abundance of wood and of rainfall permits. In the bulk of their material culture, however, the central Riffians still maintain to the greater conservation.

In the list of social institutions I have included a number of traits involving the connection of official religious personages with the crises in the life of the individual, crises with which only laymen are involved in other parts of our distributional area. This employment of religious personages is not unique, since it is found in Fes, and among other Arabs who preserve the old Moorish traditions in this time of ritualistic decadence. I personally attribute the presence of these traits in the central Rif to the influence of the old kingdom of Nekor, and to a lesser extent to other media of the diffusion of Arab culture in the days before the invasion of the Beni Hillaal. So integral and necessary a part of central Riffian culture have they become that to separate them from the other traits would defeat the purpose of this analysis. The social institutions of the central Rif must be considered a stable blend of old local factors and early Arab ingredients.

In order to present the distribution of the varying intensity of these criteria it is necessary to decide what sub-areas shall be treated as units. I have so treated each sub-area no smaller than a *canton* which has a different cultural pattern in either of the two classes of criteria than any of its contiguous neighbors. Identical sub-areas which are contiguous are treated as one, no matter how large the combination of them may be.

Each sub-area so determined has been given two scores, one in material culture and the other in social institutions. These scores represent the number of traits in each category which the sub-area possesses. Thus the possible range in the case of material culture is 0-28, and in social institutions 0-33. The actual ranges are in material culture 2-26, and in social institutions 2-33.

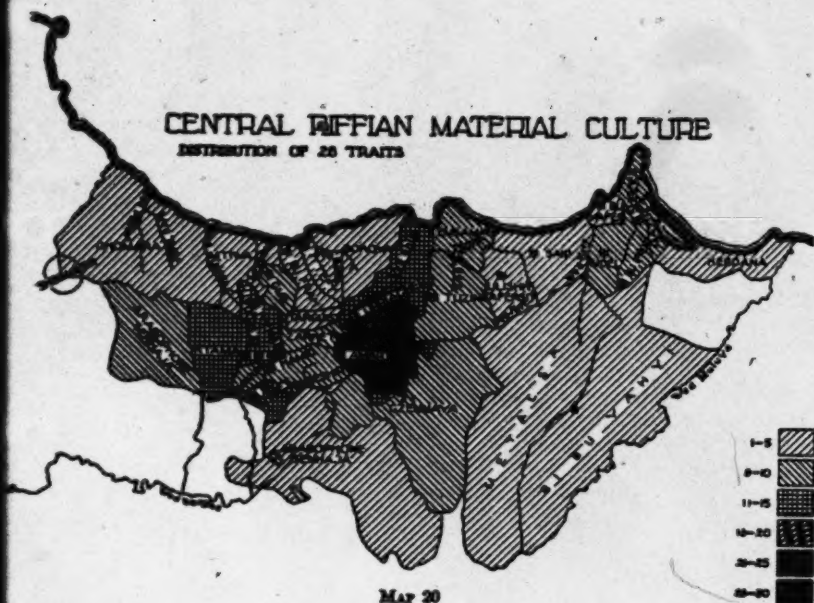
SEVENTY SUB-AREAS AND THE CULTURAL SCORES OF EACH

	Material	Social		Material	Social
1. Kaddane	5	2	36. Beni Meslay facing Zerket	10	6
2. Maama and Ait Shishar	6	2	37. Targuist	4	3
3. Beni Bu Ifraz and Beni Sidel	6	13	38. Bokoya	5	8
4. Beni Bu Yafer	5	2	39. Beni Ittatt and Beni Bu Fyah	3	6
5. Beni Said	5	22	40. Mastama and Mtiwa	3	2
6. Toussama bordering Ullahk	7	24	41. Zerket	12	20
7. Toussama bordering Urriaghel	7	26	42. Beni Gnil	7	19
8. Northern Beni Ullahk	5	20	43. Beni Bu Near	12	21
9. Southern Beni Ullahk and Tafemla	4	9	44. Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus	11	20
10. Beni Bu Yahyi	0	6	45. Hamid	9	20
11. Eastern Metala	1	6	46. Beni Bahr	10	21
12. Western Metala	1	9	47. Beni Bu Shibet	11	19
13. El Aail of Meidhar, Beni Tuzin	6	13	48. Taghouth	10	21
14. Western Mountain Beni Tuzin	8	23	49. Ktama	11	21
15. Rest of Beni Tuzin	7	23	50. Zrakas	5	21
16. Ajdir	12	27	51. Musiet	5	18
17. Beni Hadifa	12	26	52. Ain Medjuna	6	23
18. Southern Mountain Urriaghel	25	22	53. Bu Adl	6	24
19. Rest of Beni Urriaghel	12	27	54. Rghewa	5	17
20. Shawia	6	11	55. Beni Uld	5	20
21. Beni Mohammed	8	17	56. Khundukisanda	5	22
22. Khehabe	8	14	57. Beni Koras	6	23
23. Beni Yunes	7	24	58. Tamsat and Bab Wender	5	21
24. Ulad Ali ben Aima	11	26	59. Fennan	5	23
25. Ikaroen	9	22	60. Beni Wenjin	5	24
26. Itherrasen	12	28	61. Amahach	5	20
27. Meilal, Itherrshiyen	7	12	62. Ulad Asam	3	22
28. Inhanaban	10	14	63. Beni Krama	5	23
29. Bured	11	22	64. Marriam	6	23
30. Temjunt	18	31	65. Brasen	5	17
31. Itherruban	22	33	66. Ulad Ibrahim	5	21
32. Ikhuasen	21	33	67. Burda	5	23
33. Southern Beni Amart	26	31	68. Agbbalu	5	18
34. Northern Beni Amart	26	30	69. Western Arabophone Senhaja	6	18
35. Beni Meslay facing Targuist	10	3	70. Ghomara	4	5

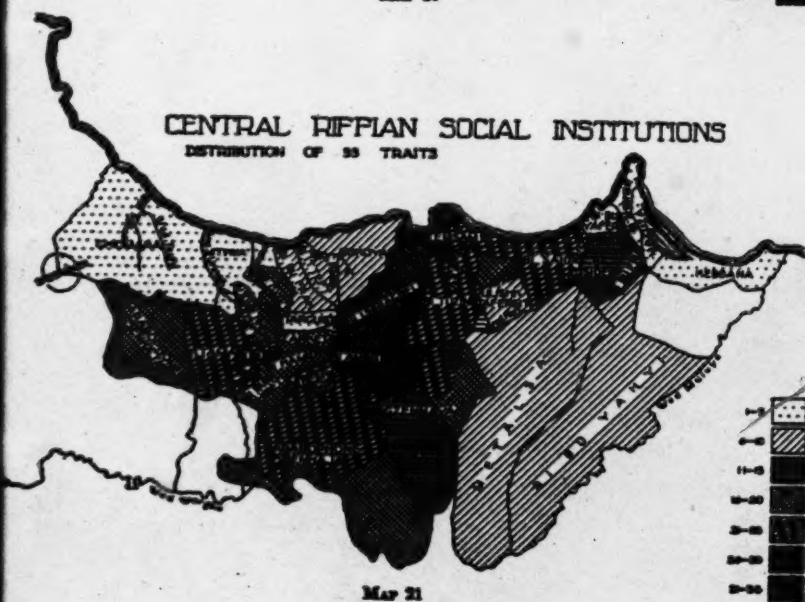
The maps which accompany this discussion will help to visualize the distributions. Both are clearly centered in the tribes of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the northern part of Gasmaya. The material culture trails out to the east along the mountain divide, through Zerket to Beni Bu Near, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, and Ktama, as well as Beni Bu Shibet. In the places where invasions have taken place, except in the Senhaja, and in the Maritime tribes (for whose members contact with the outside world has been relatively easy), the paucity of the central Riffian material culture is noticeable. It does not necessarily follow that the basic traits of central Riffian material culture ever extended to the margins of what is today the Rif, but that many of them once extended somewhat beyond their present boundaries is probable. Perhaps if one were to work out the distribution of material culture among all Berber groups similar states of affairs might elsewhere be found. Without such check material worked out in a comparable manner it is impossible to determine accurately whether or not the material complex surviving in the central Rif is a local phenomenon or one of several such peaks of older culture thrust through the surface of a more modern accumulation.

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CENTRAL RIFFIAN MATERIAL CULTURE DISTRIBUTION OF 28 TRAITS



CENTRAL RIFFIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS DISTRIBUTION OF 35 TRAITS



The social features appear more widespread than the material, which is but natural, since they are not so subject to the limitations of environment. They extend along the coast to the east far beyond the eastward range of the bulk of the material factors, and southward into the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, which is separated from a parallel intensity in the tribes of Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, and Ktama by a surprising weakness in the Senhajan tribes which are of greater strength in material culture. This would indicate that the Senhaja, in the strongest points of their invasion, did not take over Riffian social traits as enthusiastically as they did the coincident



DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

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Multiplying the mean by 100 and dividing the result by the total number of traits counted in each case gives a pair of comparable figures which show the much greater relative extent of the sociological compilation. The correlation between the numbers of social and material traits found in each sub-area expresses the degree of relationship between the two divisions of the complex. The relationship is significant far beyond question, but by no means approaches identity.

The third map of the series, on which are stippled only those sub-areas possessing more traits of each class than does the mean of that class, expresses this relationship clearly.

The cultural traits which are not central Rifian and which present unusual features marking them as different from the ordinary Moroccan pattern are found more strongly rooted in the southeast and the west than elsewhere. The eastern elements may be divided into those reputed to be of Zenatan origin and those to which only the title Nomadic may be safely applied, since they are adapted to a nomadic life and some of them are used by Bedawin, Braber, and other unassociated nomadic groups.

The following lists indicate the criteria which, without division into material and social traits, I have chosen to identify with the combination of Zenatan and generalized Nomadic culture. To separate them into Zenatan and Nomadic would perhaps render finer results, at the same time exposing the general thesis to a greater possibility of error. Hence I have chosen to keep them combined in one relatively convenient and safe, if generalized, category.

NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The sloughi (reputed to be of Zenatan introduction) | 11. Zenatan type of tattooing |
| 2. Tents | 12. Tattooing with cross designs |
| 3. <i>Afrawi</i> | 13. Same type of tattooing on men |
| 4. Brush <i>ouagimati</i> | 14. Scalplock hanging from left side of occiput (Zenatan only) |
| 5. Cheese | 15. Groom sleeps in bride's father's tent during all but the last night of the wedding week |
| 6. Skin and iron containers only | 16. Mixed singing with flute-playing at wedding |
| 7. <i>Shah-leon</i> for manufacture of goat-hair and <i>halka</i> cloth | 17. Burial without stones |
| 8. Cross-strap sandals | 18. Burial without stones with the employment of a mule |
| 9. <i>Silham</i> | |
| 10. Men's <i>haik</i> | |

By including the sloughi I have broken the rule established with Rifian traits of excluding domestic animals from the count. I have done this because the sloughi is not dependent upon environment, and because it bears so definite a tradition of Zenatan origin. Since there are two different tattooing types included in this combined roster, one Zenatan and the other perhaps related to the Braber, the complex might be split into two if we could determine which was responsible for other features. Possession of the *haik*, tents, and *afrawi* may be accredited to both; either each has brought them in, or one may have used them there for a long time and the other brought them in as well.

On the following page is a list of scores for sub-areas.

171 ●
174

SCORE OF COMBINED NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

171 174	Bani Bu Yahyi	17	Northern Ullahk	5
	Eastern Metaleh	16	El Asib of Meidhar	5
	Western Metaleh	14	Rest of Tuzin	4
	Kebdana	6	Shawia	6
	Bani Bu Yafer	6	Khababa	2
	Rest of Galiys	5	Bi Mohammed	1
	Said	5	Branes	2
	Temsaman	2	Marnissa	
	Southern Ullahk and Tafarit	6		



The distribution of these scores is heavily centered among the nomads, and very lightly diffused among the sedentary tribes in contact with them. It is curious that Marnissa and Branès, located in the Senhaja, possess some of these traits. In the case of Marnissa, it is perhaps a reflection of the easterly position which el Bekri gave it.¹

In the west there are again two groups of alien factors, which might well be lumped into one to avoid mistake in identifications. The Senhajan cultural elements which do not coincide with central Riffian usage are:

1. Tattooing, Senhajan type
2. Scalplock hanging from right side of occiput
3. Thatched *smiyimath*
4. Thatched roofs
5. Cork used as roofing and as bedding
6. Absence of pottery

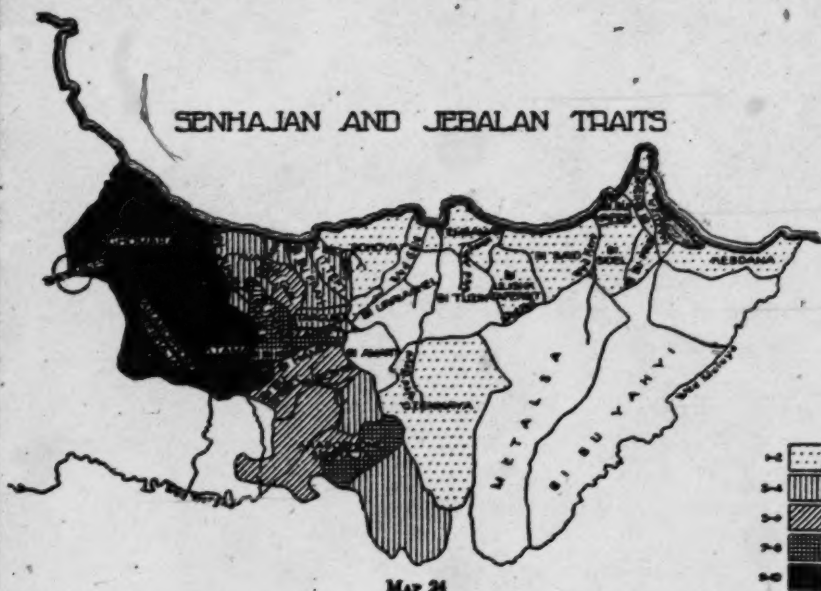
¹ Page 181.

DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

173

Those which may be Senhajan, but may rather be Ghomaran, or, on account of their wider diffusion, Jebalan, are:

1. Rectangular brush house
2. Use of hump as a drag
3. Toe-strap sandals
4. Leggings for women
5. Tie-dyeing
6. Use of rhaps and drum at weddings
7. Boy-markets



SCORES OF COMBINED SENHAJAN AND JEBALAN CULTURE

Ghomara	10	Rest of Eastern Arabophone Senhaja	5
Taghouth	9	Kraama, Marinan	4
Kraama	9	Targuist	4
Western Arabophone Senhaja	9	Bani Mousley	3
Bani Du Nasr, Khannou, Suddath	8	Marittimes	3
Zachet	7	Bohaya	2
Khanduktanda, Bani Kraama	7	All Gommaya excepting Shawia and Iherrushen	2
Bani Gani	6	Shawia and Iherrushen	1
Bani Hamid, Bahlir, Bu Shihet	6	Kablam, Gellya, Bani Said, Tamasman, Bani	
Ala Mediana, Zrakia, Bani Kerna, Uled Aam, Bu Adl, Bab Wender, Maziet	6	Ullah, Tafunt	1

This combination of traits extends much farther to the east than the eastern culture did to the west, since it is not as dependent on a specialised environment for the diffusion

171 and maintenance of many of its traits as is the latter. The traits which spread farthest are
174 Senhajan rather than Jebalan.

If we were to give scores on Senhajan features alone, Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar would take the lead, which in the merger belongs to the Ghomara. As is the case with the eastern culture, however, it will be safer to refrain from any separation.

The areas in which distinctive cultures have been partly replaced by traits common throughout Morocco do not deserve special treatment, since they are those which have figured in the background in the discussion of all three combinations of complexes. Such are notably the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, southern Gzennaya, and the eastern tribes of the Rif.

It is curious that language has so little correlation with culture in Northern Morocco. In Galiya and Kbdana, where Riffian culture is very diffuse, Berber is spoken with no signs of an impending transition to Arabic. If any linguistic influence is becoming serious in the east, it is that of Spanish. In the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, where Riffian culture is still quite strong, Berber has almost entirely died out. On the other hand, the adoption of Arabic has followed and is following the adoption of Arab cultural traits among the Maritime tribes and in Targuist.

Summary. A compilation of the traits of material and social culture which are characteristically Riffian shows that these traits are definitely concentrated in what may be called the Central Riffian Nuclear Culture Area, comprising northern Gzennaya, southern Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Amart. This area may be regarded as the stronghold of archaic culture in Northern Morocco.

The Riffian type of material culture extends westward through the Senhaja Sghir, being retained in this region by the survival of an abundant coniferous vegetation; the social pattern, on the other hand, stretches eastward through the true Rif, in which changes of environment have altered certain factors of material culture, while old social factors have been retained in greater intensity.

Cultural elements of Zenatan and Nomadic origins are concentrated in Beni Bu Yahyi, and become diffuse the further one goes into the Rif from that tribe. In the Central Riffian Culture Area these traits are entirely absent.

Cultural elements of Senhajan, Ghomaran, or Jebalan origin are concentrated in the Ghomara and in Ktama and Taghzuth. The rest of the Senhajan tribes show them in reduced degree, and some of the Riffian tribes have adopted a few of them. The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja shows itself more Riffian than Senhajan in culture.

There is but slight correlation between the retention of Berber speech and the retention of older cultural patterns: in the east the language is maintained undiminished despite profound cultural changes; in the west and southwest the opposite is the case.

This analysis indicates a certain degree of cultural stratification in the general area comprising the Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara. The older complex, surviving in greatest strength in the central Rif, may represent a culture which was once widespread over the Berber world; or it may be uniquely Riffian. Further compilations in other parts of North Africa are needed before this question can be answered.

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.¹ But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;² but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.³ According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;⁴ but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;⁵ and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.⁶ Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.⁷ Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.⁸

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it⁹), but largely also

¹ Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 sq.

² *Infra*, i. 451 sq.

³ *Infra*, i. 134, 226.

⁴ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 sq. Cf. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 sq.

⁵ *Infra*, ii. 153 sqq.

⁶ *Infra*, i. 395 sq.

⁷ *Infra*, i. 100 sq. Cf. ii. 86, 253.

⁸ Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.

⁹ Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

INTRODUCTION

15

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed¹ that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is



FIG. 8.—Among the Ait Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes ; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians² and by no means rare among the Brâber³ and the Shlôh of the Great Atlas ; and there are such people in the

¹ Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

² See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153 ; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc (1899-1901)* (Paris, 1903), p. 47 ; de la Martinière, *Morocco : Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

³ See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites
in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824
302 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab.
khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait
Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably
[171] come from the East.

778
823 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [igliwa],
tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager],
tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to
animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm
mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned there-
in its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man
himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own
mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting
them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish
you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on
the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the
masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns
earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never
succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives
blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish
is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the
wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is
only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull
changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been
imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and
causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world,
though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many
which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are
directly said to have baraka.

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF

245

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

114 and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only
for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable in-
sights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance -
which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law,
insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

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671
171 There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of
Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may
be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this
is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country
became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers
alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of
this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law
114 will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. The
671 details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central
Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French
administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until
1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir".
Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only
tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of co-
jurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the
'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the
long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled
"organized acephaly"²⁷ which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim,
and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

27--Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is
623 an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each
other.⁶³

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jaigu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, re-
ception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal
property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate
to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in
the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative
of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the
jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains re-
gards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance⁶⁴,
when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look
for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through
the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his
wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the
blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
• 191 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania
take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted
over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads⁶⁵. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
191 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith
Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her
daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much
(1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.

[191] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even
though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and

562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of insurrection
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a zawiya
728 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[191] to the jma'th, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in
Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the
Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such
complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather

627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
191 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslim ukil (legal
562

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
191 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent
other women, as I once saw in Ibuquyen (West-Central Rif)⁶⁶...Rifian
562 women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general,
[574] if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men
are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example
of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where
transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets
are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him
the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love
855 their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th
[623] (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties
concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and
the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign
the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property⁶⁷, the
jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is
623 not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies
686 in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
627
623

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[233] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this [851] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect [114] to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical [196] meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The [651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas [671] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

• [171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for [171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

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[613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[171] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most

[113] important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that [668] Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyyin and Nasiriyyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the
428 return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi-
114 ous or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the
423 form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a
[794] mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married woman to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chess-board, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[117] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] [194] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charas of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] [346] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal terri-
631 tory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three
131 qa'idates (I-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all
443 questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or de-
[646] cided there. Ingharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market
[648] when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguél", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

[171] This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republic, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'être of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their women-folk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

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[777] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate¹⁰), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

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114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.¹¹ I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido¹², and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian¹³.

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171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property¹⁴; in houses and in land, women, in fact, get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

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F) Oaths (fragmentary):³⁵

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a woman against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter³⁶, where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have [695 839] permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape^{36a A}, etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

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Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are [695 623] previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to³⁷. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth³⁸.

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Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqrannen)⁴². The oath
• [171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although
oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians⁴³. The "Little
Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything
else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try
to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the con-
ventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories....
Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do
so in places fixed by local tradition⁴⁴.

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night⁴⁵. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on
their backs⁴⁶.

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails⁴⁹ A, and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of them-
selves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their
children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
path"⁴⁸. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts⁴⁹. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors,
and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social
activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

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[128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José María Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhumi which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

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14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

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Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
171 they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
562 father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
(582) there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed inkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called 1-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY' llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

(193) The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

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171 There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auhl 'Auhl 'Auhl'" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

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212 To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

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(184) It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; (184) (191) unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

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(114) 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

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(181) 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

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(114) 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

(114) 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqraren have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

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(67) 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the ganuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spamiards.

• (171) 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the ganuns of Dhuasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He
682 did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in
696 turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an
adrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

000 villages, thus giving rise to the linkages¹⁸ discussed earlier.

616 D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

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171 The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?¹⁹ I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances²⁰.

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[82] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack²¹.

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerland in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth²².....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same²³; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors²⁴.

616 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political
619 organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even
642 though they say that they employed this word because there was no central
114 government, no makhzin, only ingharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in
619 fact, it actually means) and of dharrfiqh to the trunk, e.g. a branch
182 of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians
601 themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in
829 the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that
[191] Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go
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628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
648 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or
master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's
Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the
one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's
yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi¹¹⁷, and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar
and Ibuquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions
of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of
the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place.
I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it
weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a
level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail,
a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by
four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to
put the cable down.

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[171] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuquyen).

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411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

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[695] 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

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224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter).

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "1-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

231 There are practically no communal events,
 796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
 782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
 231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
 182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
 [777] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed
 among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats
 and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are
 camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base
 of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological
 domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds
 between goat herdsman as exist with camel or cattle. If, how-
 ever, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in
 the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social
 life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate
 its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with
 economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented
 to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-
 industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an
 examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
 433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
 435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
 [191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or \$60. In the Rif,
 which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
 231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
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423 Nash's remark about property among the Maya
171 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
the Rif. "... Since land is what parents leave children to
start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is
closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor
of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It
is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes
asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however,
generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of
such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel
about from community to community consulting with their own kind
or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are
apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood
on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is
considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the
way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually,
the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated
incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight incon-
venience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently
such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived,
such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an
average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be
pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even
refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

Introduction: The "Northern Zone"

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few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The ~~Mad Stut~~, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

CULTURAL UNIFORMITY AND DIVERSITY

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him. One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type. The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

* D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45-54.

* *Ibid.* p. 46.

* D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a-140.

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a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.* Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes." In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom."

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule."

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

* Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Wariyaghar," *Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquiesas*, 2 (1954), 38.

" For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley y la vida* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71-75.

" Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

" C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143-145.

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and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, d), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, h, i) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside. Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men." In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, a). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, b). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

¹ Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

² Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

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style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, c).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, c). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made elogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, a, d). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, e and f). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, e). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, f).

531 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by
 171 most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in
 Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical
 patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and
 chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of
 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local
 171 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of
 rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler
 who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can
 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two. Similarity of this sort suggests
 diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa,
 which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can
 789 still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that
 171 seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the
 soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber
 [772] is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim
 [805] lunar calendar."

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities
 differed from the Arab or Muslim order. The Berber districts were characterized
 by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence
 and self-sufficiency. The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed
 [596] clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common
 [64] ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains,
 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates
 634 from each family. The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and
 taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate
 relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but
 he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent
 aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representa-
 tives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

[212] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique
 [113] et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128-164; F. R. Wulsin, "The
 Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
Papers, 19 (1941), 111-114.

[113] "Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress,"
Nat. Geog. Mag., 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara
 in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178-179.

[113] "Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] "The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

"I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1950. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] "With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856-1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

Culture History

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634 assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most
343 of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse,
171 or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."¹⁰

177 Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

PUNIC AND ROMAN INFLUENCE

175 The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] ¹⁰ For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meuin, *Greniers-citadelles du Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikouaka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

¹¹ Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

Settlement Morphology

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000 urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

HAMLETS VERSUS SCATTERED HOUSES

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the



Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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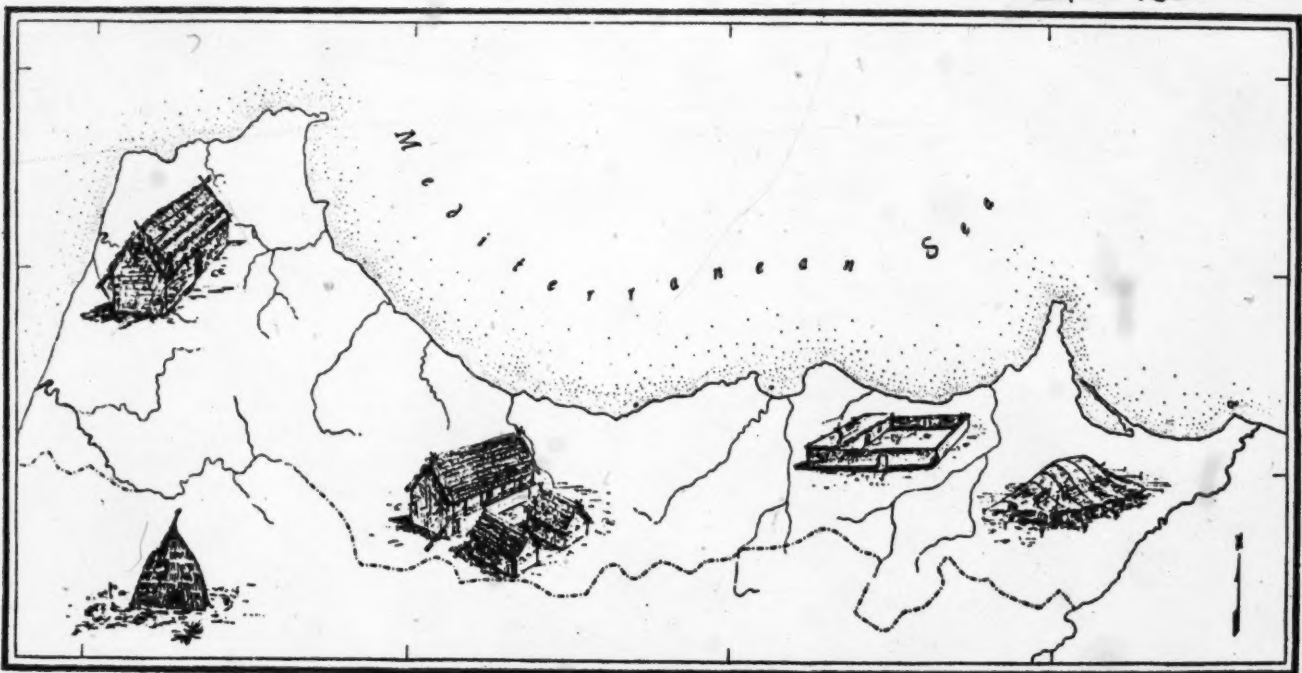


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

Settlement Morphology

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is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking. The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibbat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

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In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters, and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

TYPES OF HOUSES

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In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nowala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

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¹ See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

² A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos históricos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951-52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

Settlement Morphology

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Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

* In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation chez les transhumants français* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation indigène dans les possessions du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931-1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4-102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Mounié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and B. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15-71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275-288.

000 coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

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Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, a). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

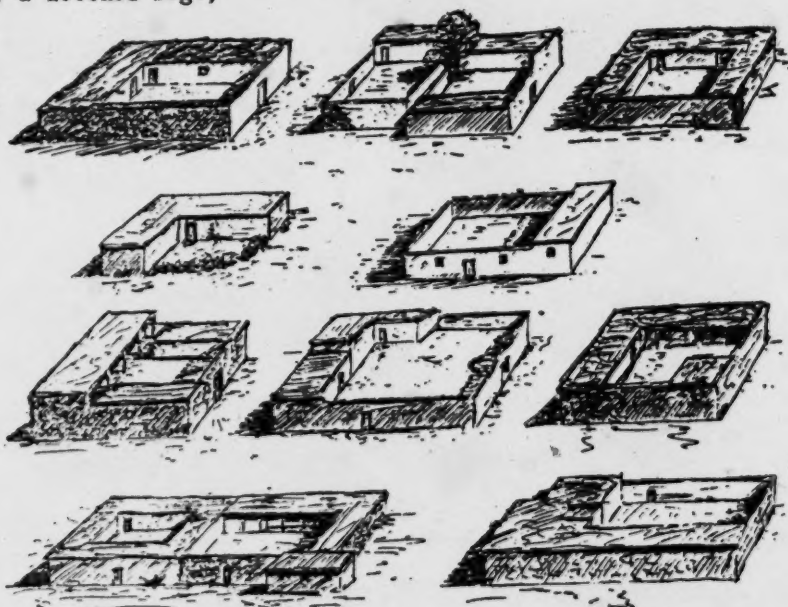


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifan courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

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by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.¹⁰ Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.¹¹

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At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

¹⁰ In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zéjal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikoumka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

¹¹ J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1937), p. 135.

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342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, b). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

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[353] The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, a and b). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, a). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, c). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

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342 Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, b), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

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[191] Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

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342 An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

Settlement Morphology

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341 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest
346 minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers
171 away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints
(pl. 9, a), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty
others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types
of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).

Livelihood

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THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR

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(805) Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

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22 In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

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22 In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

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by the wind. Cattle, mules, or donkeys tread the crop and separate the grain from the chaff. As the animals are driven in a circle, the men work with winnowing forks (pl. 5, a). After most of the chaff has been removed, the women take over and finish the winnowing by hand. The men then set to work piling up the straw to be used as fodder during the winter months. In Garet and Gal'aya, the usual form of strawstacks is oblong; in the Rif they have a circular form. Strawstacks are sometimes covered with a thin veneer of mud; sometimes they are held in shape by stones tied to ropes. In the wetter, western provinces straw must be stored inside.

In early September, maize is harvested and the almonds and figs are collected. The remaining trees, including the olive, do not bear fruit until November or December. Grape picking, usually in mid-September, marks the end of the agricultural year. After this has been done, the cereals reaped and threshed, and the strawstacks prepared, there is time for rejoicing. September is the usual month for weddings and also for festivals and pilgrimages. But it is already time to think of the new cereal crop, and smoke from fresh clearings marks the beginning of a new year.

The cycle just described is most applicable to Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and the western margins of the Rif. On the Atlantic littoral there is little danger of frost, and vegetables may be grown at any time of the year. The calendar of events in the drier and warmer parts of the northern zone is usually two or three weeks ahead of the cycle in the highlands. When autumn rains fall over the zone, cereals are ready for harvest in the warmer eastern sector in May, but as often as not the advantage of higher temperatures is offset by meager or tardy precipitation. In 1957 the first heavy rains did not reach Gal'aya until April.

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The pattern of land use in the highlands reflects centuries of trial and error. The problem here is that it is virtually impossible to grow more than one crop on the same plot of land. Maize and hemp must be planted before the cereals are ripe, and there is also a conflict of time between the harvest of cereals and the planting of vegetables. Hence a division is made between land planted to summer and to winter crops. Since the former are dry-farmed and the latter irrigated, this division coincides with a break in slope. When there is abundant water for irrigation, cereals, figs, and vines are pushed to higher and more precipitous slopes. The Aith Arbi, who own valuable terraced land on the north slope of Adrar Tidighin (pl. 6), arranged a generation ago to purchase additional land at a lower elevation so that it would no longer be necessary to devote precious irrigable land to cereals. Similar divisions have been effected by many highland communities. The disadvantages of specialization are offset also by barter at the weekly markets. In Ktama, tribesmen from the deep valley of Abd al-Ghaya grow an abundance of grapes, figs, oranges, and vegetables, which can be exchanged for grain produced on higher and drier land.

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Most highland communities are not so fortunate, and an attempt is made to allocate land for each season. Cultivation is usually spread over three distinct zones, which are worked at different times of the year. First, and lowest in a valley, is the zone of terraces reserved for the irrigated crops. The next zone, at a slightly higher elevation, is planted to cereals, figs, and vines. A still higher

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zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.*

CROP COMBINATIONS

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This

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TABLE 4
LAND UNDER CEREALS
(Hectares)

	1935-40	1951	1953	1955
Barley.....	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat.....	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum.....	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize.....	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye.....	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals.....	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

SOURCE: *Anuario estadístico, 1955-53* (Madrid, 1955), p. 93.

happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

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In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.* One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is grown in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important food. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

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* On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers; Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt., Ergänzungsheft* 258 (1955), 88-99.

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* In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadístico, 1952-53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.*

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

*C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47-48.

*Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

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the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

FARM IMPLEMENTS

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The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism; such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

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The Moroccan plow is a one-handed implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. J
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The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, b); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.¹ Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, b).

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Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (a-d) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (d) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (e) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, f, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, g, is the ubiquitous sickle.

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Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.² In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.³ Mills of this

¹ For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275-301.

² This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate 14.

³ The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

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Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.²⁰ The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and

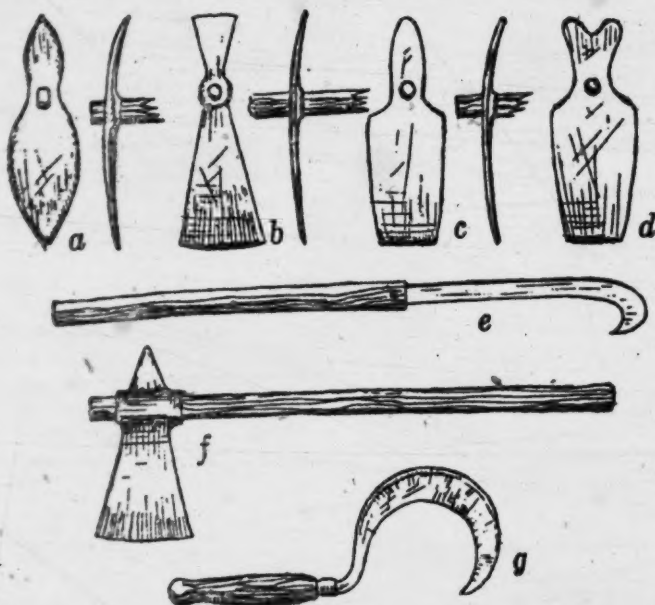


Fig. 21. Farm implements: a, b, c, d, digging and weeding tools; e, grubbing and cutting tool; f, hatchet used by woodcutters; g, sickle.

later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

ROLE OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.²¹ The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

²⁰ H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

²¹ *Anuario estadístico, 1952-53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

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Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.



Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000 and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the
S entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389
231 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers." Goats
061 must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is
small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains
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191 "Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys, and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.² Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, b).³ The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

IRRIGATION AND WATER RIGHTS

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiya*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, b).⁴ Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiya*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

² Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

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241 different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth
 312 across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on
 171 long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a
 few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is
 required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the mini-
 mum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds;
 check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed
 to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority,
 for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less
 effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of
 a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since
 irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a
 slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, b). There is no rotation
 of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually
 built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking
 tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is
 applied each year.

312 The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter." The rights of pref-
 171 erence pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main
 423 rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of manage-
 ment. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow
 is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they
 can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly
 ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more
 than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in
 the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost
 unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied
 with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells,
 springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source,
 and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

598 An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction
 and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the
 necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the fami-
 lies using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion
 about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes
 may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain
 the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The
 irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such
 communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an
 hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then
 destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[113] "In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho con-
 suetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948),
 1-44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*,
 2 (1954), 55-57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Develop-
 ment Paper 45* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

CONTRACTS AND COÖPERATION

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When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

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A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins."

INHERITANCE

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The inheritance of property" in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] "On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950-51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95-104.

[113] "This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141-143.

Livelihood

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171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

HUNTING AND FISHING

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171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle." Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

[576] It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior.

[411] To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

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171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch."

[175] In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century." At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] "For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Palis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37-38, cited in note 5.

[113] "On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

"Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517-520.

R 90

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226 more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be pre-
171 sented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of ship-
building.

5 Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains
226 of Ghmara and Senhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of
824 *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'na*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed
171 also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain."

UTILIZATION OF WILD PLANTS

R 757 The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many
824 are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the
171 ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*.
The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned
with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and
the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches,
or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

R 222 Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular har-
262 vests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of
171 *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*,
137 the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries
of *Rubus ulmifolius* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto.
Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

MARKETS

R 484 It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco
171 live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least,
have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even
in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian
or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sight-
seeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece
of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of
strange sights and tales of adventure.

R 438 A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are
439 found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For ex-
171 ample, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarry-
ing millstones from the Caves of Hercules." Here they find a gritty conglomerate
that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones trans-
port them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern
Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months
of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and
baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at
Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation
of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agri-
culture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

(13) * R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
* C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (Sep-
tember, 1945), 174 and plate vii.

Livelihood

91

R
443 The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading
438 market or *sug* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, crafts-
439 men, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for
171 the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket
of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling,
each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add
variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions
of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of
each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as
sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function
of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities
engaged in subsistence agriculture.

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443 Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during
171 the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market
[805] places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday),
arba (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday)."
On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market
place. The *sug* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word;
[571] it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market
day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By night-
fall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

R
443 There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authori-
438 ties of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted
171 at each *sug*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of busi-
439 ness, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a
fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000
pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif
(fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, *Tlata*
[443] *Ktama*, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. *Khemis Izagan* (pl.
[438] 7, b), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local
[439] markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products,
(2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation
of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making
them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from
the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the
larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines
and on the frontiers of complementary production zones."

EMIGRATION

161 Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution
241 of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate
433 (TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

171 "On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had*, *tnine*, *tlata*, *arba*, *khemis*,
djemaa, and *sebt*; on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had*, *tenin*, *telata*, *arbaa*, *jemis*,
yumaa, and *sebt*.

R
[113] "On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in
communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.* 48
(1958), 494-511.

Livelihood

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surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5
VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said.....	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib.....	89,000,000
Jema Zinat.....	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra.....	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani.....	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana.....	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat.....	82,500,000
Arba Aicha.....	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul.....	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid.....	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama.....	65,000,000
Arba Targiat.....	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa.....	88,000,000
Arba Turirth.....	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash.....	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth.....	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar.....	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch.....	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah.....	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman.....	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen.....	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi.....	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsaith.....	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio.....	90,000,000

Source: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.²⁴ The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,²⁵ but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

²⁴ Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

²⁵ *Anuario estadístico, 1952-53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

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[167] The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Moroccans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran." The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier."

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These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mزاب have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic." The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale."

[113] "F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5-17.

[113] "D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153-162.

[113] "In the Mزاب the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102-114.

[113] "On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzten Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298-319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67-80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423-459.

Effects of Settlement on the Land

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311 tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

AGENTS AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE

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171 In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till." Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."¹³ Kuhnholz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire."

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

CONSUMPTION OF WOOD

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171 Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels." Butane and electrical appliances are

¹³ Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

¹³ J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

¹³ G. Kuhnholz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nîmes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

¹³ Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

392 seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast
 354 is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire.
 191 Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done
 (252) over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old
 gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed,
 more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other
 craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

372 Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood
 314 and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal
 191 in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion
 is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is
 lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the
 oaks. *Quercus ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain
 the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak,
 the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield
 excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized,
 and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually
 consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous,
 for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home." During any day of
 the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal
 (482) to the cities and towns (pl. 8, b).
 (492)

342 Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always
 313 required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long
 191 and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When avail-
 able, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of
 northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

(137) Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains,
 where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* be-
 come thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and
 plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually
 too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an en-
 vironment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof"
 (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*)
 (194) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs." The fact that the generalized word for
 roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter
 variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have
 recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western
 frontier of the Rif."

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the
 railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly et al., *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave,
 1949), pp. 135-136.

"The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes
 account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid:
 Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

"C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

"Coon, loc. cit., traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate
 period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of
 Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house
 types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

Effects of Settlement on the Land

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313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
 648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
 171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the deciduous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
 171 *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near
 (185) Rineón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak."

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock."

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
 171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is especially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged." The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

(113) "The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

(113) "For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233-261.

"Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

314 High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.
 311 The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners
 171 gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather
 was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the
 present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned
 about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen
 are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and
 export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should
 now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that
 the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that
 the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was
 a "climax" forest of holly oak. In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping
 of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees;
 "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goat-
 skin tanned with sumac.

EFFECTS OF BURNING

372 In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and
 241 on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas
 171 is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land
 311 can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but
 conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire
 is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming
 ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of care-
 lessness."

233 The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the
 372 Mediterranean landscape," but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away nox-
 171 ious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agri-
 241 cultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are
 311 goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thick-
 est scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where im-
 penetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably
 more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

372 Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is
 311 that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of
 vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that re-
 main close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a
 great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years.
 Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to
 an area after it has been burned.

[113] "R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la
 tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167-240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives
 Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906-1912).

[113] "J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de
 Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26-27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[113] "H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 398, lists the causes of
 serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (33 per cent),
 "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] "G. Kuhnholz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour.
 d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785-791.

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the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

VEGETATION ON SACRED SITES

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe."

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world." The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves." Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, a and b).

Figure 25, a, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, b, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, a). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1103)

"E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325-326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

"Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

"J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatria*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but where it grows.

A. [See p. 133--Analyst]

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "arch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurdjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492] /," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "arch." The "arch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

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616 produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains,
174 in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be
[167] penetrated more by Arab influences.
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Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Alt Waoungit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

616 From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as
171 far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

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/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

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In the region of the Habr, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "alam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "alam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

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can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish (Jafa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1).

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn 'Ardoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Boullamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

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/footnote 2 continued/ Biquousasen (the green figs); Alt Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Alt Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Alt Tiyouit : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Alt Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Alt Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

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174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

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121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
 631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live,
 in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the
 Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqom, to the point that the tribal
 fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival
 and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the
 mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization com-
 121 parable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
 361 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
 621 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
 632 such as the hamlet, the "mouda", even the khoms, have limits
 619 difficult to discern. The "mouda" is still extant, thanks to the
 existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of
 households, and in trying to establish the list of the households
 that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds
 in finding again in the general tangle of families this small ele-
 mentary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At
 times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a
 sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three
 kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
 621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
 613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by
 "tarfiq" (1):

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of
 persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa,"
 division.

It seems that it might be permissible to give
 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
 Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more nu-
 merous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the
 Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of po-
 litical unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
 to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of
 families that constitute a jema'a in the North

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema'a.

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it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers"

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resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Ait 'Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Ait Qasem and the Ibouncharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Ait Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the

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country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under

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which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the 'adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doute thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

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648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

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726 Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were fol-
[648] lowed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by
[616] the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from
[634] 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted
around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country
from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret.
It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and
grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of
the Gzennaya, Mohammed 'Abdallah of the Ija'ounen, in the
tribe of the Beni Amret, Messaoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

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[171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in
their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance;
they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradi-
tion of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the
moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-
[171] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by
[681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all
[434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons
[614] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from
[581] among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by
marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such
that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the
neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march,
in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their
adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of
the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his
enemies as far as Ajdir.

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721 At the time of the great movement for a holy war against
634 Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian con-
648 tingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of
[669] Anoual. But when 'Abd el Kerim, his relatives and companions
from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the
command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the
surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

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/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

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(144)

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

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Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

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(192)

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of villages located in a spot easy to defend among the Hana and the Ida

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* 631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
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[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

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634 XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
631 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
171 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
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[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

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634 Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
631 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
614 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
578 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old